[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire. [535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will 251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 769 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 [774] Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, [824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe [776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 551 602 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo 105 101 delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. [563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe [144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust 174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus 131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and 133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen [184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land 563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and 648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, 464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European 648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is 291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and 439

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have
been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

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all thick, you know, and he had to hold his head back because the rope was choking. My mother, she ran after the police boys and called them to stop. She said: 'I will speak with the old man before he dies.' But the police boys had no time and they went off with the camels' heads going up and down and the old man running, running, running, behind.

"And my mother fell down in the dust and cried, and my sister did too, but I didn't, I watched my father instead because I didn't know when I would ever see him again. I told them so and I was right, because later a Bushman who came up from the south told us that they rode the camels through a river and my father was drowned. It was the rope around his neck that choked him, though. That is what happened, and I remember it all, but it happened a long time ago.

"After that, my mother wouldn't stay in the veld without a man and she took us near the waterhole of Nurigaas because the veld was no place for us when my father was dead. But I would like to find that Nurigaas Bushman who followed my father's tracks.

"Then one day a European farmer came in his ox wagon and he said to my mother: 'Who will give me a boy for this pound of tobacco?' And my mother was afraid, so she took the tobacco and said to me: 'He wants you to go with him.' I cried, but the white man took me and put me in his ox wagon and gave my mother another cup of tobacco, but she told him she didn't want it and wanted me to come back. But the white man drove away and my mother ran along beside, crying. She said: 'Wait! Where will I get another boy when he is killed like my husband?' But the farmer didn't hear her. I got sick riding in the wagon and my bowels opened and I was ashamed because the farmer's Bushmen were riding in the wagon too, and they said: 'Why are you crying? Don't be afraid.' But I was afraid because my grandfather told me

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that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn-meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

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FX10 Bushmen FX10

that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bushmen, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters unless a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

131 :goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest
[133] from :goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets
131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from
312 :goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu, !angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and !ũhũi. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu cattle posts. Following the border track north from its intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.
[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over one hundred Bushmen.

131 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and
361 south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk
312 of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood
[161] at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one
[563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu, eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

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166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise [121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

TABLE 2

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• 563

The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburungu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

• 563 162 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 464 233 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu families. Five young married men were working as cattle herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

56/57.

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648 late 1870's, Van Zyl was hunting elephant and rhinoceros in the Ghanzi District. In 1879, he camped at /gam and is known [563] to have visited /ai/ai and !ubi. One of the white hunters with Van Zyl had an affair with a !Kung woman named n/ahka; the descendents of this union are today living at !ubi. These people acknowledge their European ancestry but otherwise are culturally !Kung.

During roughly the same period, the Batawana cattle herders from the Tsau area on the Okavango swamps began to move their cattle out to summer waterholes in the west. By the 1890's, they had penetrated as far west as Karakuwisa in what was then German South West Africa. They had also established cattle posts at /ai/ai, Gura, and at /gauša Pan (see Map 9).

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7, is an historical landmark throughout the stock raising areas of southern Africa. At the time of the outbreak only two Batawana families were summering their herds of cattle in the interior. The Ramadjagote family was at /Gauša Pan and the Ledimo family was at Gura. The Rinderpest devestated the herds on the Okavango but fortunately did not reach the central !Kung interior. When the two families drove their cattle back to the river after the epidemic had passed, it was found that theirs were the only herds left intact in western Ngamiland.

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).